A SIXTH LETTER TO THE People of *England*. ON THE LOVE of our COUNTRY.

Μένος πολυταρσὲς ἐνείη
Ἄτρομον, ὅιον τ' ἄνδρας ἔσερχεται Οἱ περὶ Πάτρης,
Ἀνδράσι δυσμενέεσι πόνον καὶ δῆριν ἔθεντο.

Ιλιαδος, P. 156.

Oh that a Spirit might inflame your Breaſts,
A Zeal intrepid, ſuch as fires the Brave,
Who in their Country's Cauſe, encounter hard,
And Conflict dire, ſuſtain 'gainſt wicked Men!

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A LETTER TO THE People of *England.*

LETTER VI.

I AM perſwaded that you would account it leſs valuable to poſſeſs the greateſt riches, than to have the true intereſt of the ſtate on this emergency, clearly laid before you. It is your part therefore, readily and chearfully to attend to all who are diſpoſed to offer their opinions. For your regards need not be confined to thoſe, whoſe councils are the effect of premeditation: it is your good fortune to have men among you, who can at once ſuggeſt many points of moment. From opinions therefore of every kind,

you may eaſily chuſe that moſt conducive to your intereſt.

And now the preſent juncture calls upon us; we almoſt hear its voice, declaring loudly, that you yourſelves, (and not foreign mercenaries,) muſt engage in thoſe affairs, if you have the leaſt attention to your own ſecurity. You entertain I know not what ſentiments on this occaſion: my opinion is, that reinforcements ſhould be inſtantly decreed; that they ſhould be raiſed with all poſſible expedition; for as the M——r is a man of conſumate policy, compleat in the art of turning every incident to his own advantage, without any regard to his Royal Maſter's intereſt or the good of his kingdoms and loving ſubjects; there is the utmoſt reaſon to fear that partly by conceſſions, where they may be reaſonable, partly by menaces, (and his menaces may be believed) and partly by rendering us in our abſence ſuſpected; he may tear from us ſomething of the laſt importance by repreſenting us in an evil light to our moſt gracious ſovereign!

Those very circumſtances, however, which contribute to the power of the M——r, are happily the moſt favourable to us, for that uncontrouled command, with which he governs all tranſactions public and ſecret; his intire direction of the army, (in particular foreign mercenaries) as their leader, their commander, and their treaſurer! I hope now it is plain to every true Britton, that the ſchemes of this M——r are

not

not for the glory of this almoſt ruined Iſland; but on the contrary to involve the ſtate in diſſolution, ſlavery, and foreign ſhackles! Oh Liberty! Oh my Country! to be thus ſerviley deſtroyed by the ambition of bad M——rs.

Convinced of the truth of what hath now been offered, and poſſeſſed with every other juſt and worthy ſentiment, you muſt be reſolved, my Countrymen, you muſt exert your ſpirit; you muſt apply to the War, now if ever: your fortunes, your perſons, your whole powers, are now demanded, by your Royal Maſter, who was ſo much concerned at the loſs of Minorca, very juſtly ſaid, "*I am ſold*"! There is no excuſe, no pretence left for declining the performance of your duty, for that which you were all ever urging loudly that you ſhould be engaged in a war with France, hath now happened of itſelf, and this in a manner moſt agreeable to our intereſt, had it not been for our domeſtick enemies the M——rs when we received advice of the ſiege of Minorca, and had our commander in that unfortunate expedition, behaved with a due ſpirit and alacrity to the relief of Mahon, we ſhould now find much more compliance, much more humility with the French. But by ſtill neglecting the preſent, and imagining our future intereſts will not demand our care, we have agrandized our enemy, we have raiſed him to a degree of eminence, greater than any French King hath ever yet enjoyed.

And

And in my opinion, if you were to addreſs our Royal Maſter (who is always willing to redreſs the grievances of his faithful ſubjects) to bring the dealings of the M——r to a fair account, tho' many things might not appear againſt him, yet he would acknowledge that you have been highly injured by him and with great reaſon: for that many places have been loſt ſince the opening of this war, is truly to be charged to the M—r's weak conduct, but that the difficulties ariſen from hence, have long affected us; and that an alliance with foreign mercenaries ſtill ſeems to rivet their chains upon us, by giving them power, to murder, rob, and debauch our wives and daughters, and they not to be ſubject to the laws of this realm; are facts in themſelves ſufficient to make every true lover of his country look about him with horror and deteſtation of foreign troops.——For inſtance let me beg leave to make the following abſtracts from the public papers.

Extract of a Letter from Maidſtone, September 25.

OBSERVING but a very ſlight mention of the Hanoverian affair that has happened here, you are deſired by many of your friends and well-wiſhers, to inſert the following in your next:

"One

" ONE William Schroder, an Hanoverian " ſoldier, was on the 13th of this month, " detected in the crime of ſtealing privately " and felonioufly, in the ſhop of Mr. Chriſto- " pher Harris, at Maidſtone, two ſilk hand- " kerchiefs, of the value of eight ſhillings, the " property of the ſaid Harris; which offence is " commonly called ſhop-lifting, and made ca- " pital by the ſtatute of 10 and 11 William III. " cap. 23. By which act, the apprehender is " intitled to a certificate to exempt him from " pariſh and ward offices, on the conviction of " the offender. And that the ſaid ſoldier being " apprehended and carried before the Mayor, " and another Juſtice of the peace for the cor- " poration of Maidſtone, and the fact being " clearly proved upon oath, the Juſtices, in " order to ſhew all the lenity in their power, " committed him to priſon, as for common " felony, and not ſhop-lifting, and bound the " proſecutor by recognizance, to appear at " the next General Quarter-Seſſions. But that " on the next day, General Kilmanſack ap- " plied to the Mayor, and demanded the re- " leaſe of the ſoldier, and talked of uſing force, " if his demand was not complied with, in- " ſiſting, that by treaty, or agreement, neither " the Hanoverians nor Heſſians, are to be " any ways ſubject to the laws of this King- " dom, either for murder, felony, or any " other crime whatſoever; and that the Mayor " upon this, ſent for the deputy Recorder of

" the

" the Town, for his advice on the occaſion;
" who declaring, as his opinion, that the above-
" mentioned forces, during their continuance
" here, are, and ought to be, ſubject to the
" laws of this kingdom, in caſes of murder,
" theft, and other heinous offences; He, the
" mayor, did not think proper to diſcharge the
" ſoldier: whereupon the General declared,
" that an application ſhould be immediately
" made to the King. And that on Saturday
" morning the 18th, about five o'clock in the
" morning, one of his Majeſty's meſſengers ar-
" rived at Maidſtone, with an order from the
" Rt. Hon. the Earl of Holderneſſe, one of his
" Majeſty's principal Secretaries of State, re-
" quiring the Mayor of Maidſtone, immediate-
" ly to diſcharge the ſoldier out of priſon, and
" deliver him up to General Somerveldt; and
" that he was diſcharged and delivered accord-
" ingly: And that Gen. Somerveldt has ſent
" orders to the Mayor, Deputy Recorder, and
" the Conſtable of Maidſtone, that for the
" future, none of the Hanoverian forces are to
" be committed to priſon, and puniſhed by
" the laws of England, for any offence what-
" ſoever, but muſt be delivered up to be tried
" and puniſhed by their own laws."

TO THE AUTHOR, &c.

" SIR, as the very extraordinary account from
" Maidſtone, of an Hanoverian ſoldier's being
" diſ-

" diſcharged out of priſon by an order from one " of his Majeſty's principal Secretaries of State, " who had been committed there by ſome of his " Majeſty's Juſtices of the Peace for ſhop-lifting, " is not, I find, denied by any one, but univer- " ſally admitted to be true: It is ſurely high " time for every man, who has the leaſt regard " for his country; for every one, indeed, who " would preſerve his life, his liberty and eſtate, " to ſtand up and look about him, ſince they are " all ſecured to him only by thoſe laws, which " are now trampled on by, and ſubjected to " foreign forces.

" And this, Sir, is ſaid to be done too ac- " cording to treaty. What treaty, Sir? Will " General Kilmanſack ſay, that the King of " Great-Britain made a treaty with the Elector " of Hanover, that the ſoldiers of his Electorate " ſhould rob or murder his ſubjects of Great- " Britain in England, and not be ſubject to the " laws of England? I will not, I cannot believe " it. But whether there be any ſuch ſtrange " treaty, or not, this ſeems to be a certainty, " that theſe Hanoverians inſiſt that if they rob " or murder any of his Majeſty's ſubjects here, " they are not, and will not be ſubject to the " laws of this land. Thus, Sir, we ſee the laws " of this once glorious kingdom, purchaſed, " maintained, and delivered down to us, by the " blood of our brave forefathers, forced to ſub- " mit to foreign mercenaries. How greatly, " Sir, muſt we think ourſelves indebted to all

" thoſe, who contributed to bring theſe lawleſs
" maſters over! If, Sir, any one, who did ſo
" contribute, ſhould have the preſumption to of-
" fer himſelf as a candidate for any high ſtation
" in this noble metropolis, with what diſdain
" would the free citizens of London reject him?
" As ſuch preſumption would be the higheſt in-
" ſult he could poſſibly offer to the wiſe and un-
" corrupt liverymen of London, ſo it is not to
" be doubted, but they would throw him aſide
" with the utmoſt indignation."

I am, Sir,

Your humble ſervant,

BRITANICUS."

Is there ever a man among you, my countrymen, who reflects upon this affair that does not ſhudder at the thought to behold thoſe hirelings in the enjoyment of ſo much unlimitted power!

THAT you may know and ſee your own error in ever neglecting ſome part of your affairs as

as if beneath your regard, and that active ſpirit which your anceſtors are with glory recorded, ſeems now to dwindle into abject ſlavery! rouſe yourſelves, ye ſons of luxury and eaſe, and don't neglect the preſent moment for the next, but implore your ſovereign to have your militia immediately arrayed and put under a proper diſcipline for the protection of this almoſt ruined kingdom, which will be of more effect than millions of foreign mercenaries.

And if you are obſtinately reſolved againſt every vigorous and effectual meaſure; think what conſequences we may expect! in the name of heaven can any man be ſo weak, as not to know, that by neglecting the love of our country we are chained by foreign troops in this our native iſle! and ſhould this happen, I fear, Britons, that as they who inconſiderately borrow money upon high intereſt after a ſhort lived affluence, are deprived of their own fortunes; ſo we by this continued indolence, by conſulting only our eaſe and pleaſure, may be reduced to the grievous neceſſity of engaging in affairs the moſt ſhocking and diſagreeable to every true lover of our happy conſtitution, and of expoſing ourſelves in the defence of this our mother country.

To cenſure, I may be told, is eaſy, and in the power of every man; but the true counſellor ſhould point out that conduct which the preſent exigence demands.——Senſible as I am,

my brethren, that when your expectations have in any inſtance, been diſappointed, your reſentment frequently falls on thoſe who do not deſerve it; yet I cannot, from a regard to my own ſafety, ſuppreſs that which I judge of moment to be laid before you: I ſay then, this occaſion calls for a two-fold armament. Firſt we are to defend our ſeas, coaſts, and cities, from the *French* King; and for this purpoſe, to detach a body of forces: in the next place, in order to infeſt his kingdom, we are to ſend out our navy manned with other forces: if you neglect either of theſe, I fear your expedition will be fruitleſs.

And now, as to the expence of theſe preparations. You are already provided for the payment of your forces, better than any other people. This proviſion is diſtributed among yourſelves in a manner moſt agreeable; but if you reſtore it to the army, the ſupplies will be compleat, if not, an addition will be neceſſary; or the whole, rather, will remain to be raiſed. "How then! (I may be aſked) do you ſeek for "a decree to apply thoſe funds to the military "ſervice?" by no means! it is my opinion indeed, that an army muſt be raiſed; that this money really belongs to the army; and that the ſame regulation which intitles our citizens to receive, ſhould oblige them alſo to act. At preſent you expend theſe ſums on entertainments, without regard to your affairs. It remains then, that a general contribution be raiſed;

raiſed; a great one, if a great one be required, a ſmall one, if ſuch may be ſufficient. Money muſt be found, without it nothing can be effected: various ſchemes are propoſed by various perſons; do you make that choice which you think moſt advantageous; and while you have an opportunity, exert youſelves in the care of your intereſts.

It is worthy your attention, to conſider how the affairs of France are at this time circumſtanced: for they are by no means ſo well diſpoſed, ſo very flouriſhing, as an inattentive obſerver would pronounce. Nor would the *French* King have engaged in this war at all, had he thought he ſhould have been obliged to maintain it; he hoped that the moment his army and allies appeared, all things would fall before him. But theſe hopes were vain; and the diſappointment of loſing ſo many ſhips as we have taken by our privateers, in the firſt place, troubles and deſpirits him:

It is incumbent therefore upon us all, (juſtly influenced by theſe conſiderations) to unite vigorouſly in the common cauſe, and repel the danger that threatens theſe kingdoms. Let the rich *exert themſelves on this occaſion*; that by contributing a ſmall portion of their affluence, they may ſecure the peaceful poſſeſſion of the reſt. Let thoſe who are of age apply themſelves to military duty; that by learning the art of war at home, they

they may become formidable defenders of their native land: and our orators, that they may ſafely ſubmit their conduct to the publick inſpection, for your judgment of their adminiſtrations will ever be determined by the event of things; and may we all contribute to render that favourable!

THE love of our country is a virtue ſo ſtrongly enforced by nature, that ſeveral have dared to ſacrifice their lives for it: none have been ſo hardened, as to acknowledge their contempt of it: and the moſt earneſt ſeekers of their country's ruin, have always covered their pernicious ſchemes with pretences for its welfare.

THIS love, according to Cicero's definition, is to harbour no mixture of private intereſt or affection. It muſt not grow hot and cold according to the degree of advantage we particularly reap from ſervice or conduct. Though our companions, our relations, or even our children and parents, ſhould be expoſed to the reſentment of bad miniſters, and deprived of their places or penſions, for our ſteadineſs and integrity in the cauſe of freedom, we muſt not hearken to their ſolicitations, in prejudice to our national conſtitution. For, as in a moral or religious ſenſe, *the wages of ſin is death*; there can

can be no gratuity given to leſſen or cool the love of one's country, which does not carry deſtruction in its very acceptance.

If this be an indiſpenſable duty on every individual of the ſociety, to which he owes the ſecurity of life, liberty and property; how eminent ought it to ſhine forth in the conduct and actions of thoſe, who aſpire to the chief ſeat of authority and juriſdiction over their fellow-citizens? how watchful ought the citizens and members of every body corporate to be, that no perſon, let his abilities, riches, and connections be what they will, ſurprize or perſuade them to gratify his ambition, and admit him into an office or ſtation, which might put it in his power to compleat their ruin; who has on any occaſion diſcovered an *inclination* for men and meaſures, from whom their country has every thing to dread againſt its liberty?

Could any one be ſuppoſed ſo inſenſible of his country's danger, or ſo careleſs of its welfare, as to neglect the means of prevention, when they are pointed out to him by his fellow citizens: could he join in meaſures, which nature and reaſon inform him to be hurtful to his country; or, ſhould he be found ſo ſhamefully proſtitute to the intrigues of a miniſtry, whoſe power is incompatible with the public ſafety, and whoſe abilities exert themſelves in arts to deceive their maſter, and in violence to reſtrain the complaints

plaints of their fellow-ſubjects, as not only to concur with unconſtitutional ſchemes, but to inſiſt upon a right ſo to do; he ſhould be far from being the object of their regard; he ſhould never hope to prevail in his ſolicitations for power and truſt with a people, who had found him ſo wicked, or weak, to yield to an influence contrary to the honour and real intereſt of his country. He muſt for ever after be held in contempt, let his former conduct recommend him never ſo ſtrongly to his fellow-citizens. That mortal is not to be inveſted with authority, who can be drawn by any means to make uſe of the truſt repoſed in him, to the diſhonour or injury of his conſtituents.

——Totus componitur orbis
Regis ad exemplum.

THE higher any man is advanced in dignity and power, the more dangerous will be his paſſions, ſhould they incline to evil meaſures. Their actions are like a two-edged ſword: they mow down with power, what they cannot take off by example. If learning, ſound faith and morals are required in a candidate for eccleſiaſtical preferment: and an impeachment of his orthodoxy was ſufficient to ſet Dr. *R—nd—l* aſide from the Engliſh biſhoprick; it would be arraigning the wiſdom and juſtice of the nation to ſuppoſe any one qualified for an office or ſeat, either in the legiſlative or executive part of our conſtitution, whoſe

whoſe integrity or capacity ſhould be ſuſpected, or his ambition ſhould compel him to graſp at power for the ſake of private emolument.

Should our country be ever ſo unfortunate to have a parliament over-ruled by placemen and penſioners; or uſurped by men, who by their ſeats in the grand council of the nation, endeavour to ſupport an intereſt, ſeparate from the truſt repoſed in them by their conſtituents; would not the electors be wanting to their own and country's good, if they ever more choſe a repreſentative, who was willing to hire himſelf to do the drudgery of a miniſter, or whoſe pride will not let him ſubmit to the inſtructions of his conſtituents, or whoſe heart is prone to follow the dictates of ſuch ſycophants, who lie in wait to deſtroy the freedom of parliaments? ſhould any ſuch perſon ſeek after other offices of honour and truſt, ſuch as mayor, provoſt, &c. of a city, or town corporate, whereby he might have it in his power to obſtruct juſtice, to favour the enemies of his country, and to give up the liberties of his corporation; would it not be very unwiſe, or rather real madneſs, to place him in the chair of their ſupreme magiſtrate?

In ſuch caſes, we ſhould do well to conſult the practice and example of the citizens of London. For, that opulent and wiſe people have not been exempt from the ſolicitation

of deſigning men. The high office of Lord-Mayor, has been often ſolicited by ſuch as were rejected for their miſconduct and attachment to meaſures hurtful to their fellow-ſubjects: and, as according to the divines, the moſt virtuous are the moſt ſtrongly tempted by the devil; it is no leſs true in politicks, that the higher any place is, and the more our country's liberty depends upon the integrity of the officer, the more arts are made uſe of by the ſappers of our conſtitution, to puſh their own creatures into it. If it was not for the proſtitution of mayors, ſheriffs, and juſtices, it would be impoſſible for a wicked miniſter to ſmother the complaints of an injured people, to ſuppreſs addreſſes to the throne, to manage elections, and to curb the juſt reſentments of the people.

THEREFORE, when it has happened that an alderman of the city of London, has, by adhering to meaſures, tending to the loſs of their particular or national liberty, forfeited that good opinion of his fellow-citizens, which obtained for him the firſt ſtep of power in their corporation; they immediately, without favour or affection, have always prevented his advancement to more power in their election.

How reſpected, how amiable was Sir George Champion to his fellow-citizens! how powerfully did he carry, almoſt by his own intereſt, the election of a chamberlain, againſt the utmoſt

moſt efforts of the court! yet, as ſoon as his brain was intoxicated with a ſeat in parliament, ſo as to liſten to the deluſive ſchemes of a corrupt miniſter, he became the object of their indignation. He joined with the miniſterial project for a *convention*; whereby the cruelties and horrid devaſtations made by the Spaniards upon our American trade and ſeamen were to be cancelled, and Great Britain left expoſed to their future barbarities and inſults; for which he was irrevocably and perpetually ſet aſide from the honourable and powerful office of Lord Mayor of this great metropolis.

No doubt but that gentleman would gladly have reconciled himſelf, by inſiſting upon his right to vote, *as he pleaſed*, in parliament: but, to wave an enquiry into the juſtneſs of ſuch a claim, by one, who is no more than the repreſentative of his conſtituents, and entruſted by them only as guardian of, and not to ſport away their liberty and property; the citizens of London are not ſo ignorant as not to perceive how material it is to their metropolis, for the defence of its rights and privileges, for the preſervation of its peace and tranquillity, and for the ſupport of its reputation and dignity, that no perſon whatever ſhould be inveſted with the ſupreme magiſtracy, who has rendered himſelf diſgraceful to the majority of its citizens, by deviating from thoſe principles, which have ever intitled them to the love of their fellow ſubjects.

Nor is this the only example: whenever a general alarm has induced the honeſt and ſincere individuals of every party, to throw aſide their former reſerved behaviour, and to join council, and to act in concert for their common ſecurity; they have always united to prevent the diſhonour and danger, which might fall upon their city, and the diſcouragement they would give to the whole kingdom, ſhould they ſuffer themſelves to be deluded into the election of a ſupreme magiſtrate, who had forfeited the love of his country by his miſconduct in a truſt already repoſed in him. For, his diſgrace would have been equally as certain, had he voted for a general exciſe; or for the naturalization of the Jews; or for the unconſtitutional and hazardous meaſure of introducing a foreign army. Whatever tends to the deſtruction of the whole, is deſtructive of every part. The liberty of England cannot be in danger, and the liberties of London remain untouched. And the ſenator that gives his voice for a meaſure, which ſhould expoſe the diſarmed people of Britain, to the mercy of a *foreign mercenary army*, can never be a true lover of his country, nor expect to ſucceed in his ſolicitation for the ſupreme magiſtracy, any more than if he had voted for the *convention*. To advance the welfare of ſociety muſt be the natural purſuit of every upright and diſintereſted man; therefore, ſo far as any citizen's actions declare him to have

ſwerved

ſwerved from that purſuit; his integrity and ſincerity become ſuſpected, he declines in the eſteem of that ſociety, and is diſregarded by the lovers of their country.

THESE are obſervations founded upon experience. Nor can there be a more ſeaſonable opportunity to exhibit them to public view, than, at a time, when they have their eyes upon the elections of magiſtrates in the principal corporations of the kingdom. Then is the hour of trial how far m——l influence prevails over the love of our country: whether private intereſt, or perſonal connections have gained the aſcendant over public good, and national ſafety: or whether party zeal will ſanctify the moſt ruinous meaſures. By theſe tokens we may form a rational judgment of our freedom; and of thoſe, who have the honeſty and courage to appear in its ſupport. Should there be choſen a ſupreme magiſtrate, who with his vote has complimented the advocates for a numerous ſubſidiary army to be kept in idleneſs at the immenſe expence of Great-Britain, and for a more expenſive and dangerous embarkation of foreign troops in this iſland; who, with arms in their hands, preſume to obſtruct the civil magiſtrate in the execution of his duty, and to inſiſt upon an exemption from the laws of this land, even in caſes of ſhoplifting, murder, and of all crimes whatſoever; and who aſſume the authority to forbid our peace-officers to take cognizance of the murders, felonies, &c. committed by them; might not the ſame influence

ence engage him to lodge thoſe foreigners in the heart of the corporation, and with them to deprive us both of our wealth and liberty? can he be ſuppoſed a friend to a militia, who appears inſenſible of the miſeries brought upon a nation by immenſe debts and grievous taxes contracted and raiſed for the maintenance of mercenary and foreign armies? will not they, if there can be any ſo void of natural affection for their country, as to appear in favour of ſuch a candidate, forfeit the amiable character of a true Briton and a good citizen; who give the upright and diſintereſted part of the corporation great reaſon to ſuſpect them of preferring ſome private advantage, or favourite paſſion to the real intereſt of their country? or that things are brought to ſuch a criſis, that neither the misfortunes we have ſuffered, nor the grievances we complain of, nor the dangers that threaten us, are able to unite a free-born people in the purſuit of ſuch legal and prudential meaſures, as ſtill remain in their power to preſerve their independency?

You ſee then; it becomes our fellow-citizens to be very circumſpect in their choice of a chief magiſtrate. It is their particular intereſt, in regard to their own rights and privileges: it is their duty to chuſe an unexceptionable gentleman, ſo far as it ſets an example to the reſt of the kingdom. And whenever this is the caſe, they ought to proceed with unanimity and decency. Union is neceſſary for their preſervation: and decency will convince all mankind, that

their

their reſentment is not grounded on party zeal: that it is not the effect of inconſiderate paſſion; nor yet a perſonal diſlike to any perſon: but that it is his public conduct alone, which has brought them to a reſolution to ſet them aſide.

This has been the conſtant practice of the Londoners: however ſplit into diviſions: however differing in ſentiment about other matters; they have always had wiſdom to unite againſt the ſappers of our conſtitution. And there is no reaſon to fear they will ever remit any part of that manly perſevering zeal, which has overcome all oppoſition; or ſuffer themſelves to be ſurprized into an election, which would convict them of ſupineneſs, levity, and diſunion; and of doing a thing, which would diſhononr the city, and diſcourage the whole kingdom, whoſe conduct is generally framed on the example of its metropolis.

Mankind, by ſome kind of inſtinct, have naturally a love of the moſt tender ſort, for their native ſoil: a bias and leaning to it, in preference to every other country in the world: a pious veneration and reverence, not unlike that of a child for a parent, and an intereſting attachment, not inferior to that of a lover for his miſtreſs. And therefore in all flouriſhing commonwealths, baniſhment has been looked upon as a puniſhment equal to death.

But this divine impreſſion may be incruſted over with the ruſt and canker of vicious habits, ſo as ſcarce to be legible; deriving its original from virtue, it is of courſe impaird, if not totally obliterated, where vice predominates. Without virtue in individuals, there can be no mild and gentle government, no impartial diſtribution of public favours and rewards, according to merit, no frugality in the management of public money, no guard to property, no ſanctuary for liberty, no proviſion for the eaſe of the people, and for the neceſſaries and conveniencies of life, no bleſſing whatever, which can make a man prefer the country he was born in, to that of any of his neighbours. For it is impoſſible that thoſe who adminiſter public affairs, ſhould govern according to the rules of virtue, unleſs they are virtuous themſelves. 'Tis true that uſurpers wear at firſt the maſque of virtue, to ſupport their ill-gotten power, but it is as true, that they think themſelves ſecure before they really are ſo, and that by throwing aſide the conſtraint of appearances, they bring on themſelves the deſtruction they merit.

Where theſe circumſtances of intrinſic happineſs, which we have now mentioned, are wanting, when virtue ceaſes to be the baſis of men's actions, when deceitful and corrupt men, form themſelves into combinations, under the appearance

ance and ſhew of patriotiſm, and arbitrarily invade the province of the government, merely from the expectation of the ſpoil and pillage of it, where the favours of the governor, inſtead of being the reward of merit, are diſtributed among thoſe who betray the eſſential intereſts of the ſtate, where there is neither plenty, credit, ſecurity, or peace, there an honeſt native feels not that wholeſome prejudice in favour of his country, which warms the breaſt of thoſe, who paſs the happy day beneath the ſunſhine of a virtuous government.

THAT native, finds at home little to commend, much to complain of; from a laudable abhorrence of bad meaſures and bad men, he is eaſily induced to give up all ſort of partiality for a place deprived of the protection of virtue, which only can make men happy: where infamous men preſide, and conſequently where corrupt meaſures, and a conſtitutional proſtitution can be the only rule for the adminiſtration of public affairs. How can he be intereſted to love or defend ſuch a country? can he love that ſoil which he is forbid to cultivate? can he praiſe the conveniency of thoſe harbours which he is prohibited from making uſe of? or admire manufactures and commodities, the conſumption of which will produce a profit only to foreigners? can he ſmile or be elated, where almoſt every countenance he meets, exhibits the doleful picture of poverty and oppreſſion? can he hope for an end

to theſe national calamities, when he ſees his fellow-citizens employed in rivetting theſe heart-breaking fetters on their unhappy countrymen? where can we draw the line, or ſtrike a difference between a community enſlaved by force, or by the *bribed* conſent of its conſtituents?

And yet, as it is the duty of every honeſt citizen, not to ſhrink at, or comply with the corruption of the times, ſo it is highly incumbent on him no to forſake the poſt which providence has placed him, as a centinel, or abandon his country in the time of danger, to ſuch as endeavour to ſpoil and lay it waſte. He ſhould attempt to oppoſe, ſo far as he is able, and ſtem the powerful tide of corruption: to dare to be honeſt, and to induce others to follow his example; and to terrify, by his courage and perſeverance in a good cauſe, multitudes who labour to overbear him in ſupport of a bad one.

For tho' a people inſnared and deluded, may, for a while, forget their country, and the duty and affection they owe to it, lulled by the ſpacious artifices of intriguing leaders, who with flattery, promiſes and favours, inveigle their paſſions, and debauch their morals, yet, when once experience, or accident, has diſcovered the deſtructive tendency of the conduct purſued by their leaders, the love of their country revives with

with redoubled vigour in their breaſts; they never balance, where both are fairly laid before them, between their true and permament intereſt, the good of the whole community, and that unnatural, and, in the end, ruinous method, of promoting private advancement for a time, by ſelling their rights, liberties, and properties for ever: between the enjoyment of the ſhort-lived gratifications of falſe ambition, (at no leſs a price, than the deſtruction of the preſent age, and of handing down to their poſterity, infamy, ſlavery, and a total diſſolution of manners,) and the promotion of honeſt induſtry, and the proſperity and ſecurity of their country.

If virtue were the faſhion and caſt of the times, if men in the general were lovers of truth; it would be impoſſible that candour ſhould create enemies, or ſincerity give offence; and an upright humane benevolent ſpirit, would walk beloved and applauded, through a world amicably formed to its own likeneſs.

But as this neither is nor ever was the caſe; as wickedneſs can *climb* as well as *creep*; as it infeſts *the valleys*, and alſo viſits *high places*; whoever opens his mouth in favour of virtue, is preſumed to declare his averſion to vice; whoever declares his averſion to vice, is preſumed to expreſs his antipathy to the wicked; and

whoever expreſſes his antipathy to the wicked, is impleaded as a defeamer of Some or Other in high ſtation.

And here I hope I ſhall be forgiven, if warm with a ſubject, ſo intereſting to thoſe, who have enjoyed the ſweets of freedom, I pauſe one moment, to congratulate my native ſoil, and pay the tribute of honeſt praiſe, to the ſerene republick of *Venice*: where the virtue of individuals is the baſis of government, where the chief care of the ſtate, is to appoint public officers to inſpect the morals of private men, where honours and employments are not to be purchaſed by proſtitution, or any other conſideration than that of real merit, and where every individual, poor or rich, in private and public, without any ſelfiſh view or attachment, contributes to the general felicity of the commonwealth.

It is by the liberty of ſpirit which we now ſhew, in the reclaiming of our own dues, and in the aſſertion of our proper privileges, that we are apt and evidently prepared to defend thoſe rights, that are ſtill greatly dearer and more intereſting unto us; even the rights of his ſacred Majeſty, and of theſe his free dominions, on whom our proper rights incluſively depend.

It is not by any motions of riot or ſedition, that you ever did, or, I truſt, ever will reclaim your privileges. Give no ſuch advantage, my worthy and true brothers, to the adverſaries of liberty, to the miners and ſupplanters of your civic eſtate, who are wakeful and on the watch for ſuch a cauſe of exception. Continue firm, yet diſpaſſionate, continue ſerene, though provoked. So ſhall you defeat the only train that can be laid, to render you obnoxious; and you ſhall caſt back the reproach of riot upon your accuſers.

The true courage and ſoul of liberty does not conſiſt, in a froward, repining, or turbulent diſpoſition; but in a reſolution as calm as it is deep, in a patient, determined, and adhering ſpirit, erecting itſelf in benevolence, and founded on the conviction and conſciouſneſs of right reaſon. All the elemenrs may forſake their nature, and the material world ſuffer wreck, but ſuch a ſpirit can never change, nor ſink under the truſt that is repoſed upon it. Like gold of the fineſt bullion, it may be attempted, it may be wrought a thouſand different ways, it may be mangled with ſteel and tortured with fire, but in every trial and operation through which it can be paſſed, it will obſtinately retain its value, its weight, and its purity.

But,

But, when you ſhall glorioufly evince, and demonſtrate to the world, that in this article of prime importance to yourſelves and your country, you tread ſuperior to private influence, and firm and unſhaken, to all the aſſaults of perſonal and ſenſual impulſe; by your diſapprobation of foreign mercenaries, and encouragement of a regular militia; you will give a public teſtimony and ſanction to virtue. You will render it faſhionable, approved, and applauded. Your children will be emulous of the good works of their fathers. You will deliver down the ſignal precedent to many generations; and when you ſhall have paſſed away, future centuries who ſhall reap the harveſt of your truth, in all the bleſſed enjoyments of liberty and proſperity, will recognize the glorious anceſtors by whom the ſeed was ſown.

FINIS.